

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 174096  
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL MC BRUSSELS

S E C R E T STATE 174096

EXDIS HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 4978 ACTION SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO ATHENS BONN LONDON NICOSIA USNATO USUN NEW YORK  
USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST USDOCOSOUTH USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN  
ADANA ISTANBUL IZMIR USNMR SHAPE JULY 7.

QUOTE: S E C R E T ANKARA 4978

EXDIS-MIL ADDRESSES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, TU, GR

SUBJ: RESULTS OF GREEK AND TURKISH SECGENS JULY 4 MEETING

1. DURING A CALL ON SECGEN ELEKDAG JULY 6, HE  
REVIEWED FOR ME THE RESULTS OF HIS JULY 4-5 TALKS  
WITH GREEK SECGEN THEODOROPOULOS. ELEKDAG CHARACTERIZED  
THE RESULTS AS "PROMISING" AND HIS GREEK COLLEAGUE AS  
"REASONABLE AND RESPONSIBLE".

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 174096

2. ELEKDAG, WHO WAS AS ENTUSIASTIC AS I HAVE EVER  
SEEN THIS CAUTIOUS DIPLOMAT, SAID THAT HE HAD PROPOSED  
A FIVE POINT "PROGRAM FOR PEACE" WHICH THEODOROPOULOS  
HAD ACCEPTED. THE PROGRAM CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING  
ELEMENTS:

A. THE NEGOTIATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT

THAT WOULD "RESTORE" GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS.

B. THE NEGOTIATION OF AN AEGEAN AIRSPACE AGREEMENT.

C. THE NEGOTIATION OF AN AGREEMENT COVERING THE  
AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF.

D. THE PURSUIT OF THE ABOVE THREE SEPARATE  
NEGOTIATIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY.

E. THE CONTINUANCE OF THE SECGENS' "DIALOGUE".

3. ELEKDAG SAID THAT THE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WOULD  
BE DESIGNED TO PUT TO REST LONG-HELD MUTUAL SUSPICIONS.  
FOR EXAMPLE, THIS AGREEMENT WOULD CONTAIN A STATEMENT  
PROCLAIMING THE INVIOABILITY OF COMMON BORDERS BASED  
ON THE 1923 LAUSANNE AND 1947 PEACE TREATIES. THIS, HE  
SIAD, WOULD REASSURE THE GREEKS WITH RESPECT TO  
PERCEIVED TURKISH DESIGNS ON THE GREEK ISLANDS  
OFF TURKEY'S COAST. FOR TURKEY--WHICH HAS STATED  
THAT AN INCREASE IN GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS BEYOND  
SIX MILES WOULD BE A CASUS BELLI--THERE WOULD BE  
A STATEMENT "MAINTAINING" THE PRESENT LIMITS. ELEKDAG  
ALSO SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE A "NON-AGGRESSION" CLAUSE  
IN LIEU OF A "NON-AGGRESSION PACT", AS PROPOSED BY  
THE GREEKS, OR A "FRIENDSHIP TREATY", AS PROPOSED BY  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 174096

THE TURKS (APPARENTLY EACH SIDE TABLED A DOCUMENT).

4. ON THE AIRSPACE AGREEMENT, ELEKDAG SAID THAT THE  
GREEKS ARE WILLING TO RESCIND THEIR "UNILATERAL 3,000  
SQUARE MILE EXTENSION OF AIRSPACE" AND THEIR DICTIVES  
ON EXERCISE ZONES AND AIR DEFENSE IDENTIFICATION.  
ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE GREEKS THAT THIS  
EXPRESSION OF THEIR GOOD WILL WAS APPRECIATED BUT THAT  
RESCINDING WHAT HAD BEEN UNILATERALLY AND ILLEGALLY  
IMPOSED WAS NOT A CONCESSION TO TURKEY. HE SAID THAT  
IN THIS NEGOTIATION THE STICKING POINT WAS THE GREEK  
CLAIM THAT THEIR NATIONAL AIRSPACE EXTENDS TEN MILES  
OUT TO SEA. THE GREEKS SAID THIS CLAIM WAS ESTABLISHED  
BY A 1931 ACT OF THE GREEK PARLAIMENT BUT ELEKDAG PAOINTED  
OUT THIS DID NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL  
AGREEMENT AND MOST NATIONS HAD REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE  
(EG INCLUDING ITALY) THE AIRSPACE CLAIMED  
BY GREEKS. ELEKDAG SAID THAT TURKEY WAS NOT  
PREPARED TO COMPROMISE OR EVEN TO "AGREE TO DISAGREE-  
ON THE TEN MILE AIRPASCE, WHICH WOULD GIVE 40-45 PCT  
OF THE AEGEAN AIRSPACE TO GREECE AND EFFECTIVE CONTROL  
OVER 75 PCT OF IT. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVEN ON WHAT

ELEKDAG ADMITTED TO BE A CARDINAL POINT FOR GREECE, HE SAID THAT THEODOROPoulos HAD AGREED TO "TAKE ANOTHER LOOK", AND TO PUT THE ISSUE ASIDE WHILE THE OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE AIRSPACE AGREEMENT WERE NEGOTIATED.

5. ON THE AEGEAN SEABED, ELEKDAG SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE RENEWED UNDER THE BERN AGREEMENT AND THE GOT WOULD BE "REINFORCING" ITS NEGOTIATING TEAM. BOTH SIDES PROMISED THAT THE EXCHANGE WOULD BE A "SUBSTANTIVE" ONE AND HE EXPECTED REAL BUSINESS COULD BE DONE.

6. THE FOURTH ELEMENT OF THE ELEKDAG PLAN WAS THAT BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE PUSHED ON ALL THREE FRONTS SIMULTANEOUSLY SO THAT A "MISSING PIECE OF  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 174096

THE MOSAIC IN ONE NEGOTIATION MIGHT BE FOUND IN ANOTHER AGREEMENT". BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THEY WOULD FREELY TABLE ANY IDEA THAT MIGHT LEAD TO A COMPROMISE BUT THAT UNTIL THE FINAL PACKAGE OF AGREEMENTS WAS CONCLUDED, NEITHER SIDE WOULD HOLD THE OTHER TO ANY PROPOSAL THAT HAD THUS BEEN TENTATIVELY RAISED NOR EXPOSE THE OTHER'S PROPOSALS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. FOR THIS REASON, COMPLETE SECRECY WOULD BE MAINTAINED ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

7. FINALLY, ELEKDAG SAID THAT BOTH THE SIDES HAD AGREED TO MEET AS OFTEN AS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE NEXT MEETING WILL BE IN ATHENS IN SEPTEMBER.

8. I TOLD ELEKDAG THAT ON THE EVE OF THE EMBARGO VOTE IT WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO KNOW ABOUT THE IMPORTANT FIRST STEPS THAT HE HAD MADE IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE GREEK/TURKISH DISPUTES. ALTHOUGH ENTHUSIASTIC, ELEKDAG WAS FRANKLY SURPRISED AT THE "REASONABLE" GREEK ATTITUDES DURING THE TALKS. HE OPINED THAT, PERHAPS, THE GREEKS WERE UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE EC-9 WHICH HAD, HE SAID, TOLD GREECE THAT IT SHOULD RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS BEFORE JOINING THE COMMON MARKET AND NOT TO MAKE GREEK PROBLEMS THOSE OF THE COMMUNITY. SPIERS UNQUOTE VANCE

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